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fatigue of the old women left alone to housekeep with their daughters away. On nine days meat was eaten and a whole buck was divided on one occasion. The other fortunes and misfortunes of the kitchen affected individual households alone.

Three Families Housekeep.

To illustrate the preparation and distribution of food in detail, three matrilocal family groups have been selected for description out of the five observed. These are: A, B, and D, and the linking of the different households composing these units is indicated on the plan on p. 177 by dotted lines. The amount of food consumed by each unit is roughly shown on the tables on pp. 178–83 and it will be seen how, in each case, the size of the consuming group, the labour-supply, male and female, and differences in the social status and individual temperament of its members affect the daily intake of food.

Group A. Kasaka, the head of Group A and headman of the village, had three households under his care. He lived in his own hut with his wife NaMarya (A2). His three younger children, Kapea (A7), a girl of 14,[1] Marya (A8), aged 7, and Cileshye (A9) aged 5, came to eat, but not to sleep. Kasaka had his own dish of food, to which he called one or two of his old cronies, such as the heads of Groups B and C, joining them on their verandas in turn. His small son might have been invited to share the meal if his table manners had not disgusted his father, and so he remained eating with his mother and sisters instead. The second household of the group was that of Kampamba (A5), who was temporarily on a visit and whose husband was away at the mines. In the third house lived another daughter, Kampamba (A6), who had been married over a year. She had been given her own fire-place but not her own granary, so that her husband, Findee (F6), was still entirely dependent on his father-in-law for food. Usually a basket was sent to him at the men's shelter, but on five days out of nineteen his wife was given flour to cook for herself, or to carry out into the bush for his meal. In the fourth house lived Nakulu Marya (A3), the crippled old mother of

[1] Kapea engaged herself to be married to a young boy from a neighbouring village during my visit and demanded grain to grind for him, but the father refused, as the marriage had not received the formal consent of the bridegroom's parents. The boy was therefore merely allowed to share a dish with the other son-in-law and was not treated with the 'cooking of honour'.

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NaMarya. The permanent group of eaters was thus composed of two men, four women, and three children, and provision for them depended on the amount of labour the group could supply and the energy and intelligence of its members.

Kasaka himself was a dignified old man, conscious of his royal connexions and a supporter of the traditional etiquette. He was a hard worker, who went out alone to garden on twelve days out of the twenty recorded, but as a character he had little force. His authority in the village was weakened by his fluctuating allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church, which prevented him from performing the customary rites to the village spirits in any whole-hearted way.[1] To help him, he had only his son-in-law Findee, who had cut trees for him for four years before marrying his daughter Kampamba, and who was making a garden of his own this season for the first time. Findee was a satisfactory son-in-law as young men go nowadays, but it will be seen that he only worked exactly half as many days as his father-in-law during the fortnight when notes were taken. Kasaka's other son-in-law sent financial support on occasion, as did his absent sons, but did no garden work. This is a typical situation in a modern matrilocal group, though it is probable that if Kasaka had had a stronger personality, a number of his dead brother's relatives, including his chief wife, would not have left him for the neighbouring village of Stefano, and he would have commanded at least a day's labour on his garden from his own villagers, according to tribal custom. As it was, he paid for their help with beer brewed for a working-party. It is common nowadays to find headmen trying to give the hospitality expected of their office without possessing larger supplies than commoners. At the time of observation Kasaka had two half granaries full of millet, i.e. about 4,808 lb., an empty ground-nut granary, a carrying-basket of maize cobs, and one of ground beans, with 4 or 5 lb. of beans, peas, dried leaves, and dried potatoes only. Thus he had a better supply of millet than most of the villagers, probably owing to the help of an active son-in-law, but very few relishes.

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The fact that mainly determined the amount of food eaten during the period noted was the shortage of female labour. There

[1] Some of these rites were undertaken by his eldest sister NaMukonda (Ba), but he disliked the fact that she officiated and occasionally resumed control.

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was only one young woman able and willing to search for relish and to do much grinding. Nakulu Marya was crippled with age and rheumatism, and a burden on the group rather than a help. NaMarya herself was elderly, frail, querulous, and constantly anxious. She was a poor organizer and lacked social support in the village into which she had married as an inherited wife, and she had no relatives of her own except her old mother. She was criticized by the women of Kasaka's family, and as always happens in such a situation, rumour had begun to saddle her with some of the misfortunes which had recently fallen on the village.[1] The difficult relationship between a man's wife and his sister, inevitable in a matrilineal community, was intensified by the clash of temperaments between NaMarya, who was weak and timid in character, although technically the senior as the headman's wife, and NaMukonda (B2), domineering, efficient, and sharp-tongued, with a large family of sons and daughters in support. Jealousy, concealed beneath the surface, broke out violently from time to time, culminating in a fight between the two women at a beer-drink which sent NaMarya off for two days to sleep in the grass shelter near her garden with her old mother because she feared that 'her heart would get hot again' and she might again abuse her husband's sister—a bad breach of Bemba kinship sentiment.

Thus, both the temperamental peculiarities and the social position of NaMarya made catering a burdensome task for her at a time when relish was hard to find, and as the wife of a headman she had to dispense additional hospitality. The heads of the other matrilocal groups, e.g. the sisters NaMukonda and NaKabanda (B2 and C2), would help each other when they were rushed with work, but NaMarya could only rely on her daughter Kampamba (A6), a quiet, steady girl who took her full share of the work when present, but who gardened four days out of twenty and went fishing, looking for relish, or carried meat to Shiwa Ndandu for a European employer on five days. Kapea, the 14-year-old girl, was intelligent and lively, but did not work. NaMarya was afraid to scold her for a characteristic reason—she

[1] e.g. people said that the failure of the hunting ordeal at the founding of the village had been due to NaMarya. She had not remained indoors all day as behoved a headman's wife on such an occasion, but had gone abroad visiting. They complained that she did not bother herself (*ukanakomonya*) about the village. Charges of witchcraft frequently result from a situation of this kind.

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feared her husband's sister would take the girl's side.[1] Thus the attitudes resulting from the tribal kinship pattern were emphasized by the contrasting personalities of the two women concerned. As a result of this domestic situation NaMarya devoted her time to making beer, which she declared was less trouble than fetching relish and a good substitute for food. She only went to garden four days out of twenty. On five days Kampamba cooked for her, but when the latter was away, the family did without.

The extent of a headman's hospitality can be seen from the chart on pp. 178–80. The total man-value of those fed by NaMarya varied from 3·6 to 10·8 and the number of eaters was constant on very few days. The seven mourners who came to wail the sudden death of a baby were the headman's responsibility. Honoured guests, 'sons of chiefs', and relatives of Kasaka who arrived on the 14th were given a hut specially cleared for them and a basket of food apart. A Mission teacher appeared on another day and also a stranger, who did formal obeisance in front of the headman's hut. In these circumstances it will be seen that the individual intake of flour varied greatly from day to day, i.e. from 6 lb. per head to 2 lb. The number of meals per day altered with the cooking strength of the group. On three days out of twenty no proper porridge meal was cooked because Kampamba was away doing tribute labour or working with her husband in the bush gardens; on one day Kasaka refused to take his share of the meal because there was not enough for the guests; on four days there was only one meal in the afternoon; on seven days, one meal plus an extra dish of potatoes in the morning, and on the remaining four days, two proper meals. Beer was drunk by the elders of the party on seven days, but not by the children. The figures for this family, therefore, illustrate the irregularity in daily intake due to the tribal system of hospitality and the variation in the number of meals caused by cooking difficulties, but the special problem of this group was its shortage of female labour and the inefficiency of the housewife in charge.

Group B, that of Malalo, provided a perfect example of the expanding ring of interdependent households which may form a matrilocal cooking unit. In the central hut Malalo lived with his wife NaMukonda (B2) and a varying number of his grandchildren, generally Sampa (B13), a boy of 9 and Ruti (B14) a girl, aged 8,

[1] A period of revolt and laziness seems typical of Bemba girls at this age.

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262 ●592 the children of Mukonda (B3), the eldest married daughter. Mukonda had her own granary and garden, but sent her younger children to sleep with the grandparents after the Bemba custom, and usually to eat with them. She was economically independent of Malalo, but shared in the food of the parent household when absence at Shiwa Ndandu with her husband prevented her cooking, or when she was tabooed from doing so. Malalo's second daughter, NaMutale (B8) was still completely dependent on the central household. She had been married over two years and had a small son of fifteen months. She had been given her own fire-place, and as will be seen, got grain to grind and cook for him separately on several occasions during this month. She was once allowed to take millet to brew beer in her own hut,[1] but she had no granary of her own and her husband was a ne'er-do-well who seemed in no hurry to make his own garden. Thus NaMutale cooked and ate with her mother while her husband and baby were also fed from the central household. Jani (B9), the youngest daughter, had only just married and had not yet been given her own fire-place. NaMukonda, a stern critic and disciplinarian, declared that she was 'not old enough to take food from a granary' (cf. p. 125) and would only waste the supplies and find herself 'hungry in the rainy season'. Accordingly, Jani cooked and ate with her mother, and her husband, Dickonsee (E4), was fed by his mother-in-law when he came home for the week-ends from work. Thus in Group B we see three married daughters representing the three stages by which a Bemba girl attains independence from the parent household—first a fire-place, then a granary, and lastly complete freedom of ownership. Besides these households a number of other relatives formed an outer ring and occasionally received food from Malalo. These included his eldest son Japesi (B4), an unpopular, tedious person, who had been deserted by his wife (A4) and had therefore returned to his mother for support. She cooked for him throughout our visit and would no doubt have made use of his half-empty granary if necessary. Two other sons of Malalo (B6 and 7) had married in the village and were resident there, and though they were fed by their respective mothers-in-law, NaMukonda occasionally sent them baskets of food or invited them to share beer. She also sent flour to her sister NaKabanda (C2) when the latter was too tired to grind. Her young son, Kampamba (B10), aged

[1] Giving one gourd to her mother and keeping one for herself.

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15, slept in his own hut with friends and hung around the young men's *nsaka* for remains of food, but once or twice received a special dish of his own. Thus NaMukonda cooked for three men permanently, for two additional sons-in-law in emergencies, and sent presents of food to two sons when she felt inclined. Two women regularly ate with her, with an additional married daughter on occasion, and a varying number of grandchildren. It is improbable that she would have kept together so many of her children's households, including those of her three sons, as well as her daughters', if she had not had so pronounced a character. Malalo himself was a quiet little nonentity, who played second fiddle both in his house and out of it, but NaMukonda has already been described as an incisive personality. She was a good organizer, who met each domestic emergency with calm decision and who kept her large family in wholesome awe of her sharp tongue. Her withering comments on the follies of the present generation were a constant delight to me. They were uttered with a shrug, a lifted eye-brow, and a glance of understanding as though between two adults alone in a nursery of tiresome children. NaMukonda's social status in the village as a resident of old standing, the eldest sister of the headman, and the mother of a large family gave her added advantages, in addition to her strong character. It was significant that her house was always referred to as 'at NaMukonda's' (*kwa NaMukonda*) and not, as would have been more usual, 'at Malalo's'.

To feed this family, Malalo had one granary containing about 2,272 lb. of millet and only 2 or 3 lb. of dried peas, potatoes, and beans, but if in distress he had possibilities of help from his oldest son-in-law Mutaka (B16) and also rights over the granary of his son Japesi whom he was supporting. The latter, who possessed the only village gun, brought home any game he shot. Gideon (B6), the third son, was employed as an assistant to a white man's hunter and also gave occasional presents of meat to his father and mother, so that the dietetic situation of Group B was a good one. It will be seen how the addition of each extra supporting household strengthens the position of the whole family.

As regards the labour force available, Malalo himself was industrious, but without much physical strength. He worked in his garden on twelve days out of twenty during my visit. His oldest son-in-law Mutaka owed him no further service, but made his

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262 592 garden close to that of Malalo so that his wife might be happy working with her mother and sisters and might get additional help in this way. The youngest son-in-law, Dicksonee (E4), had done two years' work for his wife's family before marrying Jani, but was now working locally for a European and only returned from time to time to do gardening.

593 177 The last son-in-law, ShiMutale (E5), was an interesting character, as he represented a special type of graceless good-for-nothing found in the Bemba country to-day, a young man who gets all he can from his wife's people under the old system of kinship obligations, but gives little or nothing in return. ShiMutale was always elegantly dressed in a spotless white shirt, frequently washed and ironed in public. He was constantly parting and arranging his long hair in a small mirror according to the latest fashion, and spent most of his time lounging in the *nsaka*, playing with his baby son or twanging a Bemba lyre. His most active amusement was bicycling madly around the village swearing at the children in English, of which language he knew no other phrases. I watched him from my tent door during this month, and I must admit that I had not believed it possible that an active young man of about 25 could have done nothing so consistently for so many days on end without feeling the time drag. ShiMutale had at one time worked for Europeans and sometimes announced his intention of doing so again, but in the meantime he stayed where he was. He had paid no *mpanga* for his bride, claiming the cross-cousin relationship as an excuse for not doing so, and as will be seen from the table, worked exactly six days out of twenty as compared with his father-in-law's twelve.

This case is described in detail because it illustrates the way in which a certain number of young Bemba contrive to shirk their marriage obligations under modern conditions, and thus place a heavy strain on the economic resources of the matrilocal group. They do so usually on the plea that they are resting after their work at the mines, or are about to take other jobs 'soon', and they are able to flout their duties with impunity, since the shortage of men in the district makes parents willing to put up with sons-in-law whom they would never have tolerated under the old régime. A quarrel which broke out between ShiMutale and his wife during this month illustrates this fact, and also shows clearly how the period of matrilocal marriage acts to a

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to which the matrilocal group is subject nowadays, the parents' tolerance of unsatisfactory sons-in-law under protest, because 'there are no men in the country', the less strict tribal standards of wifely conduct, and finally, the unstable character of marriages in which no service has been done, or *mpanga* paid.

As regards its cooking team, Group B was well supplied with labour, efficiently organized by NaMukonda, and it was possible to see the matrilocal group functioning as it should as a means of training the young housewife in her work of cooking and distributing food. NaMukonda had two active young women to help her (B8 and B9) and refused to cook for her grandchildren on one occasion unless they also helped by digging up the potatoes in time.[1] She herself, unlike most of her fellow villagers, had finished piling the branches in her own garden, and though she worked on eight days out of twenty helping her daughters in their gardens, she never failed to cook because of her garden work. The labour problem which was so acute in the case of Group A was thus not a difficulty for Group B. Nor did NaMukonda seem perturbed by the appearance of extra visitors. She entertained travelling relatives, sent food to additional members of the family, and her grandchildren, if not actually all fed by her, were running in and out of her hut all day picking up food or digging up potatoes from her beds—a situation which did not occur in Group A. NaMukonda affected distress at the children's raids, but plainly loved to have them with her. 'Little crocodile!' she would say proudly of her favourite, the 8-year-old Ruti. 'She snaps at everything in the hut.'

The total man-power value of those she fed varied as much as in the case of Group A, i.e. from 5·2 to 11·6, but the amount of flour eaten per head showed a larger variation, i.e. from 0·4 to 1·3 lb. This family had a proper meal every day out of the twenty,

leshye (C8), who was beaten quite severely and without cause by her husband Yolam (C9) when in his cups. On this occasion Group C refused to cook for the son-in-law for three days, until NaKabanda (C2), realizing that Yolam was a satisfactory son-in-law in other ways, said, 'Shall we refuse food to one of the family because of a matter of beer? No! Let him share with us', and sent her daughter back again. But Yolam was still uneasy, because he had no small coin with which to compensate his wife and declared he was afraid of 'the things his wife was thinking against him in her heart'. This means two bad quarrels between husband and wife in one month, and out of ten young couples.

[1] Her middle-aged son was also punished in the same way when he passed what she considered captious criticisms on the cooking of the greens.

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and ate one meal on five days, one meal and a snack on nine days and two meals on the remaining five.

It will be seen, therefore, that in the village of Kasaka which had a fairly plentiful food-supply, the daily consumption of millet did not fall much below the average for the district (cf. Chap. II), but there were great variations in the amount of food consumed daily, owing to such factors as the universal shortage of vegetable relish, the sudden appearance of meat, the amount of beer brewed, and the absence of the young women doing tribute work for the chief. There were also striking individual differences in the amounts consumed per head in the families observed. These variations can be accounted for by differences in the individual initiative and intelligence of the housekeeper, as in the case of Group A and Group B, in the amount of female labour available, or in the number of relatives or visitors entertained.

The distribution of food outside the permanent consuming group is shown in the case of hospitality given by all three groups to strangers, the anthropologist's servants, visiting teachers, &c., and the extra help constantly being given an outer ring of relatives in the case of Group B.

The record of the number of eating-baskets sent to the men's shelter daily shows in a striking fashion how the custom of the formal presentation of food to the sons-in-law affects the daily intake of each man. The village plan on p. 177 illustrates diagrammatically the dependence of the daughter household on the 'big houses': i.e. A3 and A6 are fed by or with the inmates of A; B3, 4, 7, 9 depend on B; C3, 5, 7 on C; D3, 6, 11 on D; while E2 feeds her mother E; and F1, F2 and F3, three sisters, regularly eat together. The heads of the big houses A, B, C, and D eat alone or together or on the verandas of their respective huts, but the young men eat in the *nsaka*. Of these there were 12, of whom 4 were generally away working during the week, leaving 9 regular eating mates B4, 6, and 7, C4 and 8, D10, and E3, 5 and F6, without counting the small boys who hung round the edge of the shelter waiting for bits. The women who supplied these men, in spite of being so closely related, seemed to make no effort to organize the daily supply of food to the *nsaka*. Each sent when she possibly could. Thus on some days two baskets reached the shelter, on others six, and the average daily consumption of each individual varied from 0·1 lb. of flour per day to 1·5 lb.

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This rather detailed account of the distribution of food in a single Bemba village shows the extent to which sociological factors —the legal obligations of kinship and hospitality and the symbolism of giving and taking food-supplies—actually do affect the amount of food eaten by each individual in a community living as near the subsistence level as a number of African tribes do at the present day.

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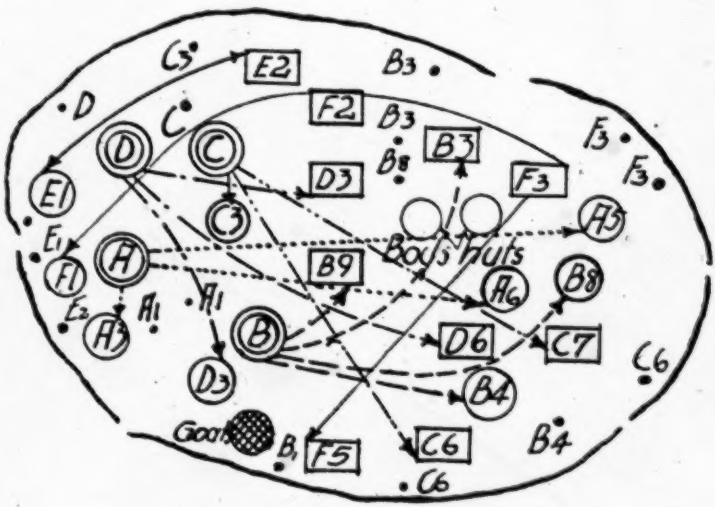

KASAKA VILLAGE

September 1934

Huts with verandas

Huts without verandas

Granaries

Goat pen

Enlarged section of plan on page 167 showing huts composing different matrilocal groups.

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Tables showing Number of Eaters and Individual Intake of Flour Per Day in Two Family Groups, A and B, *Kasaka Village.*

13 September to 2 October, 1934

Note 1. Man value obtained by allotting the figure 1·0 for each adult man, 0·8 for each woman or adolescent boy or girl, 0·6 for each child of either sex between 6 and 12, 0·4 for each child under 6 (called infant in this case).

Note 2. Abbreviations used: s.i.l. = son-in-law.
pot. = potatoes.
flr. = flour.
gr.-nuts = ground-nuts.

Note 3. The flour used is millet flour in every case.

FAMILY A. KASAKA

Permanent Group: 2 men, 2 women, 1 adolescent girl, 1 child, 1 infant. Total man value: 5·4

Date	*Total man value*	*Remarks*	*Amount of food*	*Indiv. intake of flour*	*Meals*	*Remarks*
Sept. 13	10·8	7 mourning relatives entertained.	10 lb. flr., 6 lb. meat, 2 lb. cow-pea leaves (fresh), ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·9 lb.	2 meals.	..
„ 14	10·0	Unexpected visiting relatives (3 men, 2 women, 1 child) and stranger claiming hospitality from headman. Host refuses to eat, as food is short.	10 lb. flr. Remains of yesterday's relish.	0·9 lb.	2 meals.	..

„ 15	3·6	Visitors gone. S.i.l. (F6) and wife away.	10 lb. pot.	..	1 meal.	No relish available in daughter's absence (A5). No porridge cooked.
„ 16	6·4	S.i.l.'s friend cooked for.	5 lb. flr., 2 lb. cow-pea leaves (fresh), 2 lb. pot.	0·6 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	A5 given flr. to cook for husband.
„ 17	5·4	Headman told he cannot invite visitors, as too little relish.	5 lb. flr., ½ lb. orchid roots, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·9 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	A5 grinds by herself. Relish dug by children.
„ 18	3·6	Mother.	4 lb. flr., ½ lb. orchid roots, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	1·1 lb.	1 meal.	A5 cooks for husband, sisters, and brother.
„ 19	6·4	Visiting school teacher fed.	4 lb. flr., 2 lb. cow-pea leaves (fr.), ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·6 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	A5 cooks and finds relish.
„ 20	3·6	No visitors. S.i.l. and wife away.	5 lb. pot.	..	2 pot. snacks.	A5 away. NaMarya too tired to look for relish.
„ 21	6·6	2 friends of headman invited.	5 lb. flr., ½ lb. dried peas.	0·7 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	..
„ 22	6·4	2 guests staying in village.	5 lb. flr., 2 lb. wild spinach (fresh), ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·8 lb.	1 meal.	..
„ 23	3·6	S.i.l. and wife away.	9 lb. flr., ½ lb. dried peas, 4 lb. pot.	2·0 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	..
„ 24	3·6	Ditto.	6½ lb. flr., ½ lb. cow-peas (dried), 3 lb. meat	1·7 lb.	2 meals.	Beer brewing all day.

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Date	Total man value	Remarks	Amount of food	Indiv. intake of flour	Meals	Remarks
Sept. 25	3·6	S.i.l. and wife away.	12 lb. pot.	..	2 pot. snacks.	No porridge cooked—tired from brewing.
„ 26	5·6	2 men visitors.	5 lb. flr., 2 lb. cassava leaves (fr.), ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·9 lb.	..	..
„ 27	5·6	Ditto.	9½ lb. flr., 6 lb. meat.	1·7 lb.	..	..
„ 28	8·4	2 men visitors. Prospective s.i.l. fed.	6½ lb. flr., 10 lb. meat.	0·6 lb.	2 meals and 1 extra for visitors only.	..
„ 29	4·6	Housewife away.	4½ lb. flr., 2 lb. cow-pea leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts, meat left over.	0·9 lb.	1 meal, 1 snack of remains.	Housewife away. Daughter (A5) does cooking.
„ 30	5·4	Housewife back.	5½ lb. flr., 3 lb. pot. Meat left over.	1·0 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	Beer ready for drinking.
Oct. 1	5·4	..	5 lb. flr., 2 lb. cassava leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·9 lb.	1 meal. Beer.	..

FAMILY B. MALALO

Permanent Group: 3 men, 3 women, 1 adolescent boy, 2 children. Total man value: 7·4

Sept. 13	10·6	2 men visitors extra plus s.i.l. whose wife was away, a daughter tabooed cooking and her four children.	6 lb. flr., 8 lb. meat, 10 lb. pot.	0·7 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	..

" 14	11·6	3 men visitors.	9 lb. flr., meat left over.	0·7 lb.	1 meal.	No pot. snack, since children refuse to dig pot.
" 15	7·6	"	4 lb. flr., meat left over, 6 lb. porridge.	0·5 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	Less cooked because young women away doing tribute labour.
" 16	8·2	"	7 lb. flr., 2 lb. cow-pea leaves (fr.), ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·9 lb.	1 meal.	"
" 17	5·2	2 men visitors arrive.	5½ lb. flr., 1 lb. cow-pea leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts, 8 lb. pot.	0·9 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	Daughter (BB) given flr. to cook for husband. Young girls feed for themselves, as they refused to grind. Housewife eats alone with husband.
" 18	5·2	"	5 lb. flr., 2 lb. cow-pea leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·8 lb.	1 meal.	"
" 19	7·2	S.i.l. home for night with friend and sent meal.	6 lb. flr., 3 lb. cassava leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	0·6 lb.	1 meal.	"
" 20	5·2	"	3½ lb. flr., 6 pot.	"	Pot. snack only. Flour saved.	"
" 21	6·6	"	5 lb. flr., ½ lb. beans, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	1·3 lb.	2 meals.	2 meals, as flr. from yesterday eaten.
" 22	6·6	"	4½ lb. flr., 3 lb. cassava leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts, 4 lb. pot.	0·7 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	"

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Date	*Total man value*	*Remarks*	*Amount of food*	*Indiv. intake of flour*	*Meals*	*Remarks*
Sept. 23	11·0	..	5 lb. flr., 3 lb. cow-pea leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts, 6 lb. pot.	0·4 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	..
„ 24	9·4	..	5 lb. flr., 10 lb. meat, 4 lb. pot.	0·5 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	Sufficient meat for 2 meals but game brought in too late.
„ 25	6·4	..	Flr. and meat left over. 4 lb. pot.	..	1 meal.	No grinding. Eat yesterday's supply.
„ 26	11·8	Sends dish to son, as extra meat available.	5½ lb. flr., 2 lb. meat, 8 lb. pot.	0·4 lb	1 meal, 1 pot. snack.	Gets small buck shot by son.
„ 27	6·6	..	6½ lb. flr., 12 lb. meat.	0·9 lb.	2 meals.	Anthropologists' meat divided.
„ 28	6·6	..	5 lb. flr., meat left over.	0·7 lb.	2 meals.	..
„ 29	6·6	..	5 lb. flr., meat left over.	0·7 lb.	2 meals.	..
„ 30	7·6	..	5½ lb. flr., meat left over.	0·7 lb.	2 meals.	..
Oct. 1	6·6	..	4½ lb. flr., 2 lb. cassava leaves, ½ lb. gr.-nuts	0·6 lb.	1 meal. Beer	..
„ 2	9·4	Observer's 2 servants fed.	5 lb. flr., 2 lb. meat, 8 lb. pot.	0·5 lb.	1 meal, 1 pot. snack. Beer.	..
„ 3	9·0	Married daughter on visit.	1 lb. *cikondo* orchid, ½ lb. gr.-nuts.	..	1 small meal. Beer.	No flr. ground, as exhausted after beer.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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Table showing Number of Baskets of Food divided between Young Men (Kasaka, September 1937)

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Date	*No. of baskets of flour*	*No. of men*	*Amount of flour per head*
Sept. 13	1	8	0·1
,, 14	2	6	0·3
,, 15	2	8	0·2
,, 16	3	6	0·5
,, 17	0	6	0·0
,, 18	2	6	0·3
,, 19	6	8	0·7
,, 20	4	8	0·5
,, 21	4	6	0·6
,, 22	4	7	0·5
,, 23	4	8	0·5
,, 24	Beer	..	..
,, 25	3	5	0·6
,, 26	5	9	0·5
,, 27	6	8	0·7
,, 28	6	8	0·7
,, 29	6	4	1·5
,, 30	6	4	1·5

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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and men do not willingly cook, because it is a woman's occupation. 462
On the other hand, men do most of the women's agricultural work, when performing their tribute labour for the chief (including harvesting and piling branches), and it is common to find a man cooking for the chief when the latter is travelling through the country, since by this means he avoids the dangers of impure contact with his cooking-fire. In the same way women try to fence gardens now, however inefficiently, and near Kasama I saw an emancipated woman mudding the walls of her hut instead of a man. This conduct was thought amusing and rather daring, but not definitely wrong. There is no doubt that the rigid sex dichotomy of labour based on magic beliefs, which is characteristic of some primitive societies, does not now exist among the Bemba, and all the handicrafts, such as basket-making and mat-making, could probably be taught to the women without much protest.

Organisation of Labour.

(*a*) *The family.* The essential economic unit is the individual household, since each husband makes a garden for each of his wives and builds her a granary, but just as each family shares supplies with the other householders in the matrilocal group, so their agricultural labour is done in co-operation. This is particularly so as regards the big millet gardens. During the early years of married life a young couple reckon to cultivate their village beds more or less alone, but the parties of men who go out together to cut trees or fence gardens usually consist of a father-in-law with his sons-in-law, and possibly young sons or maternal nephews under marriageable age. Young men like to work together, and therefore the men who have married daughters of the same household often make gardens near each other. The size of the group varies. In the old days it is probable that such a unit included four or five men and some boys, allowing for the inclusion of one or two slaves which was apparently the number usually owned by a rich commoner. In an old-fashioned village of to-day the team would be somewhat smaller, but would still include one or two sons-in-law, either working on their father-in-law's garden or camping near him in grass shelters at the tree-cutting season. For instance, in the specimen village Kasaka, Malalo, head family B, had an encampment of six grass huts, about three miles from the village occupied by himself, his three sons-in-law, and two 241 592

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

sons, one a widower, and one whose wife's relatives lived a long way off (cf. Chap. X). But these groups, composed of two or three men, are becoming rarer, and it is common to find the old men making gardens single-handed for two or three deserted women relatives.

A woman's gardening group is usually composed of herself and her married and unmarried daughters, but as will be clear from Chap. VIII, her other female relatives tend to join up with her, especially under modern conditions. The husband's relatives (his mother or sister) occasionally co-operate also, but this is rare and would only be found in the case of older women of superior social status. A man would have to make his mother or sister her own garden in this case. The custom described as *ukupula* (Chap. IX) naturally provides for many additions, chiefly temporary, to the woman's gardening group.

The extent of co-operation varies, particularly among the men. In the old-fashioned villages you will still see a group of young sons-in-law working under the direct orders of their father-in-law, who is in complete charge of the selection of garden sites and the clearing of the bush. Where the sons-in-law are older, they would still make gardens near each other 'because our wives like reaping together', or in the case of pairs of young men who are close friends, they may like to work alternate days on each other's gardens for company (*ukuteme cima*). They say the work goes quicker so. In fact, a Bemba rarely works alone in a garden till middle or old age, and never likes doing so, nor works very efficiently under these conditions (cf. Chap. XIX).

(*b*) *The village*. The Bemba village may also be described as an economic unit. Certain tasks are definitely performed in the community. These include net-hunting, in which all the men of the village combine, and fish-poisoning expeditions joined by men and women. Joint work is done in clearing the village paths and in old-fashioned villages once a year on the headman's garden. The village is regarded as a unit for *amalasa* purposes, and its agricultural ceremonies and foundation rites are performed for the whole community.

Added to this, the working parties (*ukutemya*) described in Chap. IX in effect consist of all the able-bodied men or women respectively of the village. Thus the bigger the village the larger the force available for economic co-operation of this kind. The

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342 compact, and sun-dried brick is increasingly being used in building. Appendages usually include a raised granary-storehouse, a platform for drying
361 cassava, a kitchen, goat-and-sheep pen and latrine. Fishing camps are of more flimsy construction consisting of wattle-and-daub or grass shelters.

361 On the left bank of the Luapula, where the density of the population
621 and its mobility are less, greater concentrations of kinsfolk occur in the villages, which are more isolated and irregularly distributed.

592 In polygynous households there is a house for each wife. An open
915 space is left in front of the headman's hut which otherwise does not differ from the others. There are bachelor huts (*itanda*, pl. *amatanda*) for boys but few for girls.

361 During the Yeke raids the population was concentrated in some dozen
722 stockaded villages.

361 Village-gardens are occasionally enclosed as a precaution against the bush-pig, especially near Lake Mweru. Each village has its own landing-stage (*cabu*).

621 People are now free to build where they wish and the tendency for houses of kinsfolk to be grouped together is disappearing. As the Watch Tower movement developed separate villages were set up by believers who cultivated and harvested in the fields communally.(1)

INITIATION RITES

881 Initiation rites were more elaborate for girls than for boys. Girls still undergo *cisungu*, a *rite de passage*, common to the Bemba-speaking peoples but not found among the Lubo, which aims at preparing them for their future life and duties as housewives and mothers. The instruction is imparted by the *Banacimbuso*, matrons and midwives.

[304] There are now no initiation ceremonies for boys. Lunda boys were formerly circumcised at 14-16 years of age(2) in a *mushitu* (thicket) in the Nshinda swamp. No parallel operation was performed on girls.

561 The society is not formally differentiated on the basis of age, and there are no indications of the existence of an age-set organisation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

575 Of the secret societies the *Butwa*(3) was open to both sexes. *Bulindu* is described as a women's society.(4) The *Butwa*, believed to have originated among the Tea of Lake Bangweulu and to have been established in the country prior to the arrival of the Bemba-speaking peoples,(5) had lodges "along the entire length of the Luapula as far as Lake Mweru on both the British and the Belgian sides"(6) in 1914. "Nkuba is the recognised

(1) Quick, 1940, p.221.
(2) Burton, p.138.
(3) Campbell, 1, 1914.
(4) Crawford, 2, p.129.
(5) According to Campbell. Another version is that it came "with the migratory tribes of the Kazembe's, the Walunda and the Wasai, from the west about 1760." (Gouldsbury and Sheane, 1911, p.260.)
(6) Campbell, op.cit., p.77.